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# THE BOHEMIAN BACKGROUND OF GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM: THE D.A.P., D.N.S.A.P. AND N.S.D.A.P.

BY ERIK R. VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

It is surprising to observe how constantly we find all our political questions complicated with theology.—Proudhon, *Confessions of a Revolutionist*

## I

If we look at the war of today's ideologies it becomes fairly evident that most of the struggle is carried on between competing rather than basically opposed patterns of thought. The personalistic and hierarchic political creeds of mediaeval origin are practically wiped out; the older liberalism, with its emphasis on economic freedom, is fighting a hopeless rearguard action, while the vast majority of present-day parties, descending (whether they acknowledge it or not) from a common origin, are engaged in a most bitter and cruel warfare, since they see in each other heresies, schisms and "traitorous deviations from the general line." The modern mass-ideologies fathered by the philosophies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are truly fighting a "civil war" in which no quarter is given and in which temporary alliances are not able to efface suspicion, contempt and an intensive hatred from which the diametrically opposed enemy is frequently spared; more often than not he is merely a "survival" out of tune with the *Zeitgeist* and thus not really dangerous.

The most characteristic trait of modern society has been the development from personalism through individualism<sup>1</sup> to collectivism. All powerful modern ideologies are collectivistic. There is, moreover, a logical interconnection between collectivism, egalitarianism and its fulfillment: "identitarianism," the desire to live in a world in which everybody is like oneself and the ego thus becomes multiplied.<sup>2</sup> The old, familiar egoism is thus camouflaged by a new, naïvely enthusiastic "nostrism" which is fatally opposed to personal liberty. This identitarianism apparent in all political

<sup>1</sup> On the difference between "personalism" and "individualism" cf. Jacques Maritain, *Three Reformers* (London, 1929), 19–24, who follows in his formulation the R. P. Garrigou-Lagrange.

<sup>2</sup> The relationship between egalitarianism and "identitarianism" has been analyzed by Francis S. Campbell in *The Menace of the Herd* (Procrustes at Large), (Milwaukee, 1943).

ideologies born after 1792 has a tremendous mass-appeal;<sup>3</sup> it is illiberal<sup>4</sup> in the most basic sense of the term, yet it is fundamentally “democratic.” All modern parties and party ideologies claim in various degrees to be “democratic,” which implies at least a modicum of egalitarianism coupled with majority rule. And in the case of the totalitarian parties the “natural majorities” were ideologically elevated to the ranks of “élites.” The non-Jews in Germany, the workers, peasants and soldiers in the USSR, the non-aristocrats in France of 1792 were democratically promoted to a superior caste, starting the worst era of persecution, characterized by the suppression of unpopular minorities (often with a former élite status) by organized and frequently fanatical majorities.<sup>5</sup>

Here we must distinguish carefully between American and continental European traditions of popular government (1776 and 1792!), between liberalism in its original sense and democracy proper. The Founding Fathers wanted to see political power “derived” from the people in a system of filtration, checks and balances; they bitterly opposed democracy. Even Thomas Jefferson, so glibly quoted as arch-democrat, was what the Germans call an *Agrarromantiker* who believed in the rule of the “natural *aristoi*” over a free yeomanry and considered the urban lower classes to be a *canaille* prone to render sane government impossible. Only *once*, in a letter, he admitted that he might well-nigh be called a “democrat.”

The American man-in-the-street in using the term “democracy” always understands by it *liberal* democracy of a strictly constitutional pattern. His political tradition goes back to the Bill of

<sup>3</sup> Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, Livre XXIX, Chap. 18: “Il y a de certaines idées d'uniformité qui saisissent quelquefois les grands esprits (car elles ont touché Charlemagne), mais ils frappent infailliblement les petits.”

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dr. Wilhelm Röpke, “Das Zeitalter der Tyrannis,” Sonderabdruck aus Heft 5–6 des XXXIX Jahrganges (1939) der Zeitschrift *Friedenswarte* (Zürich), 5: “Nicht die Demokratie, die lediglich die Frage nach dem Träger der öffentlichen Gewalt beantwortet, ist der Gegenpol der Tyrannis, sondern das liberale Prinzip, das der wie immer gebildeten Staatsgewalt die Schranke der Toleranz und der Achtung der Persönlichkeit entgegensetzt und daher mit verschiedenen Staatsformen vereinbar ist.”

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lord Acton, “The History of Freedom in Antiquity,” in *The History of Freedom and other Essays*, (London, 1922), 11–12, and “Sir Erskine May's *Democracy in Europe*,” *ibidem*, 63–64; Peter F. Drucker, *The Future of Industrial Man* (New York, 1942), 174–179.

Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Glorious Revolution, but not to the guillotine, Marat and Robespierre. And, rightly or wrongly, he is convinced that parliamentary representation is an ideal means for the preservation of individual liberties, not only his own but also those of his fellow-citizens.

Yet liberalism and democracy have been only too often dissociated in Europe. Russian Communism has always claimed to be democratic and, by the classic standards of 400 B.C. to 1830 A.D. it has a good right to this claim.<sup>6</sup> Neither has parliamentarism always been considered in Europe the straightest road to liberty; Harold Laski is quite correct in pointing out that it is workable only if based on a two-party system united by a framework of common reference.<sup>7</sup> Otherwise a victorious party backed by an absolute majority can easily establish a tyranny and, even legally, change the constitution. In our democratic age the tyrant is thus a fictitious or actual majority impersonated by a *leader* (*Führer*, *Duce*, *Vozhd'*) who in varying degrees personifies the "average man." He is distinctly not a ruler; the hierarchies he commands are only functional and thus impersonal.

At the beginning of this more recent development stands the French Revolution,<sup>8</sup> or more precisely, its second, illiberal phase. The competing collectivistic ideas being then still few, the main attack could be directed against the supranational institutions of the Church and the monarchy, as well as against the libertarian and international estate of the nobility.<sup>9</sup> The hatred of minorities, the

<sup>6</sup> The impression has been created that the claim that Russia stands for "democracy" is a clever new ruse to mislead public opinion in the West. This, I believe, is not correct. The works of Lenin, Trotzky, Kalinin and Stalin abound in references to Communist "democracy." We give as mere samples the following passages in Stalin's *Ob osnovakh Leninizma K voprosam Leninizma* (Moscow, 1935), written in the 1920's, 4; "proletarian democracy," p. 31; "The democracy of the exploited majority," p. 33, "the soviets . . . as an even more democratic organization," p. 34 (quoting Lenin about democracy, *Works*, XXIV, 13), p. 35, quoting Lenin (*Works*, XII, 131) about the soviets as "a much higher type of democracy," etc. etc. There is no doubt that the definition of St. Thomas Aquinas in his *De Regimine Principum* describes Russian rather than modern American democracy.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Harold Laski, *Parliamentary Government in England* (New York, 1938) 8, 56-57, 72-73.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Crane Brinton's *The Jacobins* (New York, 1930), esp. 145, 147, 153.

<sup>9</sup> European "liberties" are, historically speaking, "privileges." Magna Carta, for instance, is a liberal and aristocratic document, but certainly not a democratic charter. The origins of most Diets are aristocratic, and so is the struggle against

collective condemnation of whole groups, classes and races, the judgment of individuals according to status rather than according to personality or conviction, which characterize the great totalitarian movements of today, were then conceived and born. With the exception of biological racialism, nothing essentially new has since been added.

National-Socialism is thus ideologically the full heir and probably the most complete synthesis of ideas springing directly or indirectly from the French Revolution: it is a *fulfillment* and not a "relapse into the Dark Ages," or a "putting of the clock back."<sup>10</sup> In order to come to a fuller understanding of this terrifying phenomenon, which can boast of few genuinely German traits besides its gruesome *Gründlichkeit*, it is necessary to analyze current Marxist interpretations more thoroughly, and to strip them of all the additional propaganda which made Nazism more hateful to the American masses and thus bolstered "morale" during the war. We do not mean the atrocities, which were often only too true, but the picture of Nazism as nothing but a continuation of "Kaiserism," feudalism, and "mediaevalism."<sup>11</sup> American propaganda continued in 1933 and in 1941 where it had left off in 1918; for a fuller understanding of the catastrophe an almost entirely new picture ought to be drawn.

## II

The scene of the rise of National-Socialism and its more immediate forerunners in the last five hundred years must be sought in Bohemia and in an area within a hundred miles from the boundaries of that ancient kingdom. This is a region settled originally by Celts, later by Germanic tribes, later again largely by Slavs until the Germanic counteroffensive set in. Until the recent transfer, only the interior of Bohemia (and Moravia) was still inhabited

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monarchical or clerical prerogatives prior to 1792. The leaders of the first phase of the French Revolution (1789-1792) were mostly noblemen, and so are the men represented by monuments in the four corners of Jackson Square in front of the White House in Washington.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, *Germany Puts the Clock Back* (New York, 1933) Cf. also Helmut Kuhn, *Freedom Forgotten and Remembered* (Chapel Hill, 1943), 215.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Helmut Kuhn, "The Common Man on Trial," *Review of Politics*, VI (Jan., 1944), 21-23.

by Czechs, but Slavic names of rivers, mountains and even cities are frequent in the whole area, which was racially extremely mixed. The Slavic background is especially strong in the area north of Bohemia, and an outstanding German of Czech extraction once claimed quite rightly that there is, apart from a different sociological structure, a very slight difference between Czechs and Prussians.<sup>12</sup> The former have often been called the Prussians among the Slavs, and we would not be surprised if at least a third of the names among the East-Elbian Junkers were Slavic in origin.<sup>13</sup> The whole region was outside the old Roman Empire, and direct Latin influences were almost nil. And although Bohemia and Moravia are still overwhelmingly Catholic, the Czech tradition is to a certain extent non-Catholic, if not anti-Catholic.<sup>14</sup> Hus preceded Luther, and the latter was born and reared in the immediate neighborhood of Bohemia. Saxony, Thuringia and the Prussian provinces between the Oder and the Elbe are today almost purely Protestant in religion.

I will not here go into the influence of Hus on Luther, of Luther's spadework in preparing psychologically the rise of National-

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Rudolf Nadolny (former German Ambassador in Ankara and delegate to the League of Nations) *Germanisierung oder Slavisierung?* (Berlin, 1928), 203-204.

<sup>13</sup> In many a Junker family east of the Elbe tradition even fostered the use of Slavic first names. The heroes of the poems of Detlev von Liliencron, the bard of the Junkers, have mostly Slav Christian names. One of the most popular nationalist authors in recent years was Bogislaw von Seelow. Other well-known Slavic names in that social layer (including the aristocracy) are Prittwitz, Welczek, Drygalski, Bassewitz, Posadowsky, Bonin, Brauchitsch, Zobeltitz, Manstein-Lewinski, Bülow, Below, Bredow, Jagow, Podbielski, Reventlow, Tschirschky, Gallwitz, Radowitz, Liehnowsky, Ratibor, Flotow. Nietzsche prided himself on his Polish, Treitschke (Trčka) on his Czech origin.

<sup>14</sup> In the memorandum which Th. G. Masaryk handed to Sir Edward Grey (April, 1915) he remarked that "Bohemia will, of course, be constitutional and democratic—as befits the nation of Hus, Chelčický and Comenius." (At the same time he proposed a Romanov prince for Bohemia's throne.) The three Czechs mentioned were all non-Catholics. Masaryk, as well as his son Jan, the deceased Foreign Minister, had left the Catholic Church. Vojta Beneš, Senator and brother of President Beneš, took the same step. President Hodža was Protestant, and so was František Palacký. The ministers Hurbán, Osuský, Kozák, Vavrečka are all non-Catholics. Yet more than four-fifths of Bohemia and Moravia is Catholic. Cf. E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, "The Geographic and Demographic Aspects of Religion in Europe," in *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences* (New York, January, 1945), 313-343.

Socialism in Northern Germany. It is less well known that in spite of his Czech nationality Hus strongly inspired German nationalists as a protagonist of ethnic *Volkstum*<sup>15</sup> and as a hero of "Anti-Romanism." His influence on Benito Mussolini in the Italian dictator's earlier socialist and anti-clerical period has also been overlooked; yet there were two American editions of Mussolini's "John Hus,"<sup>16</sup> and it is evident that the nature and the aims of the Taborite movement must have greatly impressed the young Socialist. Italian Fascism had two different aspects: the "Roman" statism and the populist mass-movement, of a decidedly leftist character.<sup>17</sup> It was only the latter which influenced National-Socialism.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Hohlbaum, a National-Socialist poet, wrote in his *Deutschland, ein Sonettenzyklus* (Reichenberg, 1925), a poem in praise of Hus as German. Justus Frey, although conscious of Hus's Czech sentiments, produced nevertheless a poem praising fanatically the victim of the Council of Constance. It is interesting to compare the last lines of this German-Bohemian anticlerical nationalist's verse with the opening rhymes of the *Horst Wessel Lied*:

*Die Fahnen hoch! Die Trommeln laut gerührt!*  
Es ist sein *Geist*, der in die Schlacht euch führt!  
Brav, kühne Jugend, brav! Nur dran und drauf,  
Nichts hemmt ein mutig Herz im Siegeslauf!

("Huss und Hieronymus," in *Gesammelte Gedichte von Justus Frey*, herausgegeben von seinem Sohn [Prague, 1899], 201).

*Die Fahne hoch! Die Reihen fest geschlossen*  
S. A. marschier mit ruhig festem Schritt  
Kameraden die Rotfront und Reaktion erschossen  
Marschieren im *Geist* in unseren Reihen mit.

More about the influence of Hussitism on Germans and especially on modern German literature can be gleaned from Professor Arnošt Kraus' *Husitství v německé literatuře devatnáctého století* (Nakladem české akademie věd a umění. Cast 3 [Prague, 1929]). According to Professor Kraus the quoted poem of Frey was written in 1853, but first published in 1871 (*op. cit.*, 296).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Benito Mussolini, *John Hus* (New York, 1929; Translator? Originally published in Italian in 1913). This volume contains numerous errors, geographical as well as historical. Mussolini saw in Taboritism a political-social rather than a religious movement (150). German "Hussism" is said to have prepared the way for Luther and Protestantism (149). The closing words are (151): "Thus the history of the progressive liberation of the human race from the shackles of dogmatic belief knows no interruption as it proceeds from century to century." This doesn't tally well with the Duce's later: "*Mussolini ha sempre ragione.*"

<sup>17</sup> On the anticlericalism of the Fascists, cf. Daniel Binchy, *Church and State in Fascist Italy* (Oxford, 1941), 134. Interesting is also Giuseppe Gangale's *Rivoluzione Protestante* (Torino, 1925), in which the idea was expressed that Fascism could harmonize only with Protestantism.



It is radical Hussitism, Taboritism, which is of primary interest as a forerunner of Central-European National-Socialism. It must be admitted that Hus himself was only mildly nationalistic,<sup>18</sup> and that his insistence on the cultivation of the Czech language was not revolutionary. It is doubtful whether he would have approved of the Taborite ideals; Peter Chelčický and the Brethren (*Bratři*) followed Hus's ideals more closely than Žižka. And whether even Taboritism was the first true synthesis of ethnic nationalism and socialism, or "democracy," as the historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century liked to depict it, is highly doubtful.<sup>19</sup>

Hussitism has an interesting pre-history; the roots of Hus's theological ideas go back to Wycliffe,<sup>20</sup> to Marsilius of Padua (who influenced Wycliffe directly)<sup>21</sup> and to the Pickards (Beghards).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> On the nationalism of Hus, cf. Jan Herben, *Huss and his followers* (London, 1926), 51, 115, 118–119. Also: Vaclav Flajshans, *Mistr Jan receny Hus z Husince* (Prague), 305–306.

<sup>19</sup> The question of the *real* character of the Hussite wars is from the point of view of our thesis of minor importance, but we believe that the argumentation of Josef Pekař and his documentary evidence are sounder and more conclusive than those of F. M. Bartoš, *Flajšhans and others*. Cf. especially Josef Pekař, *Žižka a jeho doba* (Praha, 1927), I, 181–183, IV, 194–195. Professor Kvačala of Pressburg (Bratislava) is strongly critical of Pekař, as can be seen from his paper in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven* (Breslau, 1932), VIII, Heft 2, 134. The French authors, Prof. Ernest Denis (*Hus et la guerre des Hussites* (Paris, 1878), and Louis Leger (*Nouvelles études des Slaves*, Deuxième Série (Paris, 1886), both believe in the liberal-democratic thesis of F. Palacký. Th. G. Masaryk himself was a thorough supporter of the aforementioned thesis, as testified by his *Jan Hus: Naše obrození a naše reformace* (Prague, 1925), especially 154–155). Part of these articles has been published in Russian in the BONR POCCNN (Prague, 1925), Vol. VII–VIII. *Jan Hus i Cheskaya reformatsia*. (Esp. 91–99). Dr. Hugo Hassinger, *Die Tschechoslowakei* (Vienna, 1926), 233, represents the same point of view. Certain details enumerated by Leger (*op. cit.*, 179–181) such as the "invocation of the ancient Czechs," the egalitarianism within the army, and Žižka's eulogy of the Czech language, remind one of the proclivities of the Germanic epigones of Hussitism. An extreme Leftist view of Hussitism and Taboritism was taken by the Marxist Kary Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe at the Time of the Reformation* (London, 1897). The thesis of Pekař, on the other hand, receives strong support from Dr. Friedrich von Bezold, *Zur Geschichte des Husitentums* (München, 1874), 70–96.

<sup>20</sup> Wycliffe, as the author of *De Eucharistia* and *De Officio Regis* (the latter strongly under the influence of Marsiglio), is a forerunner of anticlericalism, statism in ecclesiastic matters, nationalism and royal absolutism. The Wycliffite Peter Payne collaborated with the Hussites.

<sup>21</sup> On the influence of Marsiglio on Taboritism, cf. Josef Pekař, *op. cit.*, IV, 194–195.



And although the picture of Hussitism as “progressive national democracy” is probably inaccurate, the fact remains that Taboritism, including Žižka’s<sup>23</sup> semi-moderates, had strong elements of ethnic nationalism, of anti-clericalism and totalitarianism. Žižka’s anti-monarchism, on the other hand, is totally unhistorical. The Hussites fought for their millennial ideals with utter brutality, which they displayed not only towards their opponents but also against their own radical dissidents (Adamites, etc.).<sup>24</sup> The great Czech historian Josef Pekař has thoroughly collected the picture drawn by popularizers and nationalistic historians alike; but historical facts are one thing and the effect of a historical legend quite another.<sup>25</sup> The latter is frequently more potent than the former.

Ethnic nationalism, once strong in the days of Hus and Žižka,

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<sup>22</sup> Josef L. Seifert, in *Die Weltrevolutionäre: Von Bogumil über Hus zu Lenin* (Leipzig-Zürich-Wien, 1931), 63, mentions the Pickards as proclaiming the advent of the Third Empire (*Drittes Reich*) in Southern Bohemia. We have found no confirmation of this particular statement though the general influence of the Pickards (Beghards) on the Hussites is undeniable. Cf. Laurentii a Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinibus Commentarius* (Leipzig, 1790). Josef Pekař, *op. cit.*, deals with the Pickards mostly in vols. I. and IV. Cf. also Leopold Krummel, *Utraquisten und Taboriten* (Gotha, 1871), 53–54; he quotes Laurenz of Březova, Chronicle from 1420. Cochlaeus (*Historiae Hussitarum Librae Duodecim per Ioannem Cochlaeum* [Moguntiacum. MDXLIX], 148), believes in the Pickard background of the Adamites, a Taborite sub-sect. Luther is a witness to the fact that Pickards and Waldensians were popularly connected with the “Bohemians.” Cf. his *Vorrede zu der Schrift: Rechenschaft des Glaubens, der Dienst und Ceremonien der Brüder in Böhmen und Mähren, welche von etlichen Pickarten und von etlichen Waldenser genennet werden* (Anno 1533). Erlangen Edition of Luthers Works, Vol. 63, p. 319 ff. (Erlangen, 1854).

<sup>23</sup> It is possible that Žižka, born in Southernmost Bohemia near to the Austrian boundary and not very far from Husinec (Hus’ birthplace), was of German origin. This is also Seifert’s view.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Louis Leger, *op. cit.*, 152–159. Valuable material can also be found in the work of Dr. Paul Tóth-Szabó, *A cseh-huszi mozgalmak és uralom története Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1917), especially 48–50. These descriptions do not support the claims of Alois Hajn, Mistr Jan Hus a jeho význam v době přítomné (Prague, 1925) nor those of Bernhard Czerwenka, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen* (Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1869), esp. I, 168.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Rudolf Urbánek, “Žižka v památkách a účtě lidu českého” (Spisy filosofické fakulty Masarykovy Universiteta v Brně, č. 10). The predicament of the late Josef Pekař was very similar to that of another “iconoclast,” Professor Gyula Szekfü, whose “Bethlen Gábor” (Magyar Szemle Társulat, Budapest, n.d.) destroyed cherished Magyar historical notions.

was at an ebb in Bohemia in the eighteenth and even in the early nineteenth centuries. The struggle between the countries of the crown of St. Venceslas and the Habsburgs had assumed, as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a patriotic and religious rather than an ethnic character.<sup>26</sup> Neither Count Mathias Thurn, who headed the revolutionaries of 1690, nor the ill-fated Frederick of the Palatinate, the "Winter King," were Czech. Germans and Czechs suffered equally from the consequences of the Battle of White Mountain (*Bíla Hora*). And till about eighty years ago German and Czech-speaking Bohemians, united by common patriotism, lived peacefully together. "Bohemianism"<sup>27</sup> yielded only slowly to the evil of a rising ethnic nationalism. In the second half of the nineteenth century the nationalistic Young-Czech movement under Jung, gradually gained ascendancy over the more conservative and pro-Austrian Old Czechs under Rieger. The memory of Hus and the Hussites had already been revived by František Palacký, and a direct influence of his revised<sup>28</sup> picture of the sanguinary events of the fifteenth century influenced deeply the writings and speeches of Miroslav Tyrš, the founder of the great athletic nationalist organization, the *Sokol* ("Falcons"). Tyrš in certain respects copied "Turnvater" Jahn;<sup>29</sup> but this translator of Darwin and Taine into Czech was more modern than his German forerunner and strove for a more total reform. Most of the co-founders of the *Sokol* movement were of German background.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Dr. E. Rádl, *Der Kampf zwischen Tschechen und Deutschen* (Reichenberg, 1928).

<sup>27</sup> This expression is from Rádl (*op. cit.*, 82-83). Cf. also Eduard Winter, *Tausend Jahre Geisteskampf im Sudetenraum: Das religiöse Ringen zweier Völker* (Salzburg-Leipzig, 1938), 379; Hans Krebs, *Wir Sudetendeutsche!* (Berlin, 1937), 147-148. Cf. also the reaction of the Nazi Hermann Wolf to the "supra-nationalism" of Emperor Francis Joseph, who "dared" to address a Czech physician in a German-Bohemian town in Czech. ("Das Rätsel Böhmen" in Karl Vietz' *Ein Leben für die Freiheit* [Karlsbad, 1939], 129.)

<sup>28</sup> Until the days of Palacký the followers of Hus (not Hus himself) had been looked on as bloodthirsty ruffians whose memory should best be blotted out.

<sup>29</sup> The first American author to draw attention to the important rôle of Jahn as a forerunner of National-Socialism was Peter Viereck in his *Metapolitics: From the Romantics to Hitler* (New York, 1941). Yet he dealt only with Jahn's writings and not with the psychological impact of mass-calisthenics. Tyrš was fully conscious of his debt to Jahn. Cf. Jules Chopin, "Une philosophie de l'énergie nationale: Miroslav Tyrš," in *La Revue Hebdomadaire* (Paris, June 25, 1932), 453.

<sup>30</sup> Besides the two leaders Miroslav Tyrš (olim Thiersch) and Jindřich Fügner

And if we run through Tyrš's writings we gain a composite picture of anti-clericalism, biologism, nationalism, militarism and democracy. Dicta like these can be found: "Personality is nothing—totality is all."<sup>31</sup> "In a healthy nation there is no room for treason, indifference and cowardice; totality is valued more highly than the parts, the interest of the nation is much more esteemed than the interest of individuals . . . only a healthy nation is able to defend itself. A sword in each hand! Military organization!"<sup>32</sup> Tyrš had a vision of a totalitarian, national and humanitarian super-church which "will rule the world." The Czechs would be the first members of this new "Church."<sup>33</sup>

Because of the strong industrialization of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia a vigorous Czech Socialist or Social-Democratic Party was early organized. Socialism on the Continent has always been international rather than anti-national;<sup>34</sup> the break with cherished ethnic notions was never complete, and Hussite influences in the Czech Social Democratic Workers Party were never denied.<sup>35</sup> Yet the mild nationalism of this political organization did not satisfy all its members, and in 1896 this party, which belonged to the Second International, underwent a schism. A group headed by Klofač, Stříbrný and Franke rejected the international notions of the Social Democrats and formed the Czech National Socialist Party, the *Národně Socialistická Strana Česká*.<sup>36</sup> The ideology of this

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the following organizers must be mentioned: the brothers Gregr (Greger), Tonner, K. S. Amerling, Černý and Náprstek. Jung and Rieger also had, naturally, a German background.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Karel Domorázek, "Dr. Miroslav Tyrš, the Father of the Sokol Union" (Prague, 1920), 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, 4 (From *Our tasks, directions and aims*) [Prague, 1870].

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. T. G. Masaryk, "Otázka sociální Základy Marxismu sociologické a filozofické" (Prague, 1898), 499 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *The Evolution of Socialism in Czechoslovakia*. Published by the Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers Party (Prague, 1924). No author given. P. 3: "And today many workmen in Bohemia arrive at Socialism by way of religious meditation; for they see in Socialism a continuation of the old communistic communities of the Taborites."

<sup>36</sup> It is significant that the word "Workers'" was dropped by the new NSSČ. It was soon picked up again by its German epigones. Between 1919 and 1926 the NSSČ called itself "Czechoslovak Socialist Party," hereafter "National Socialist Czechoslovak Party." This appellative became rather embarrassing after the phenomenal rise of the German Nazis, when foreign journalists were instructed to refer

party was based completely on the picture—not on the reality—of the Hussite (Taborite) traditions, which had a better chance for realization in this new movement.<sup>37</sup> Karel Hoch in *The Political Parties of Czechoslovakia*<sup>38</sup> characterizes the program of the N.S.S.C. in the following way:

Collectivizing by means of development; the surmounting of the class struggle by national discipline; moral rebirth and democracy as the conditions of socialism; powerful popular army, etc., etc.

The accounts in the various Czech encyclopaedias<sup>39</sup> emphasize the same or similar points: no bias against religion but “opposition to clerical influence” (which reminds us of the Nazi’s “positive Christianity”) coupled with their opposition to “political Catholicism”), amalgamation of ethnic nationalism and socialism, opposition to the nobility and support for the workers, peasants and petty bourgeois, a non-Marxist attitude in socialism and rejection of class strife. Unlike German National-Socialism, its Czech forerunner never had an anti-Jewish platform.<sup>40</sup> This new party was, nevertheless, a powerful synthesis of the most dynamic collectivistic trends of the *fin-de-siècle*. Since the Hussite wars had been generally represented as a democratic, socialistic and nationalistic manifestation, this new group possessed added glamor in the form of historic appeal.

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to it as the “People’s Socialist Party.” Cf. the article by W. H. Graham in *Czechoslovakia*, Ed. Robert J. Kerner (Berkeley, 1940).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. “Československá Vlastivěda.” Díl. V. Stát Editor Emil Čapek (Sfmx, Prague, 1931), containing an article “Politický vyvoj o strany v ČSR.” According to this paper the ideology of the NSSČ is based on “the religious-social tendencies of the Hussite Period” (479).

<sup>38</sup> “Czechoslovak Sources and Documents.” No. 9 (*Orbis*, Prague, 1936). 2nd edition, Tabulation at the end of the book.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. “Masarykuv ottuv naučný” (Prague, 1925), Vol. I, p. 1129. Also Cf. the article by Karel Slaviček in the “Ottuv slovník naučný nové doby” (Prague, 1936), Vol. IV, p. 437, as well as a sketch in an earlier edition, i.e., “Ottuv slovník naučný” (Prague, 1909), vol. 28, pp. 984–985, and a short outline in the “Slovník národnohospodářský, sociální a politický,” Díl III (Prague, 1933), 515–516.

<sup>40</sup> Yet President Masaryk, who unlike Dr. Beneš was never a member of the NSSČ, complained about Austria’s favoritism towards the Jews (*The Making of a State*, ed. by Wickham Steed [London, 1927], 439) and he was seconded by his editor in this accusation. Cf. H. Wickham Steed, “A Programme for Peace,” *Edinburgh Review* (1916). Republished by the Bohemian National Alliance, p. 18.

## III

It is not sheer coincidence that the Czech Encyclopaedia, *Masarykův Ottův Naučný* (Prague, 1931; V, 47), features under the headline *Národně Sociální Strana* (National-Socialist Party) both organizations—the Czech as well as the German. The split in the Czech Socialist Party in 1896 must have also inspired certain German-speaking workers in Bohemia who were imbued by Schönerer's ethnic nationalism, antisemitism and anticlericalism. Yet these workers, who disliked the nobility as well as the clergy, aspired to far-reaching social reforms which had no place in Schönerer's bourgeois program. The Social Democratic Party, on the other hand, was too international for their tastes and its leadership too obviously Jewish. In Northern Germany F. Naumann's "German-Social Party" had already gained a few adherents.<sup>41</sup> The rivalry between nationalism and socialism was not one of necessity. The time for a synthesis had come. The gap was soon to be filled by the German Worker's Party of Bohemia and Moravia which, according to Josef Pfitzner, "united completely the two great currents of the century (die beiden Jahrhundertkräfte), nationalism and socialism, in its program . . . thus these borderlands were far ahead of the mother country."<sup>42</sup> The socialism contained in this movement and in its various successors (DNSAP, SDP) was quite genuine, as Professor Carel Engliš of the Masaryk-University of Brunn-Brno attests:

Pourtant dans la critique du capitalisme, le socialisme Allemand se rencontre avec le marxisme et même, dans la critique du capital et de sa fonction et dans celle de la lutte sociale.<sup>43</sup>

While Rudolf Jung dates back the rise of the German National-Socialist Party to the activities of Ferdinand Burschofsky, a book-binder, and Ludwig Vogel,<sup>44</sup> a printer, the data given by Baron

<sup>41</sup> Theodor Heuss, *Hitlers Weg* (Stuttgart, 1932), 22–23, mentions Naumann as a "forerunner." Cf. also Adolf Damaschke, *Was ist National-Sozial? Eine Antwort* (Berlin-Schöneberg, 1900). (The difference between *sozial* and *sozialistisch* should be kept in mind!)

<sup>42</sup> Josef Pfitzner, *Das Sudetendeutschtum* (Cologne, 1928), 23–24 (Pfitzner was executed by the Czechs in Prague in 1945).

<sup>43</sup> Charles Engliš, *Le "Socialisme Allemand." Programme du Parti allemand des Sudètes*. Sources et documents tchécoslovaques, No. 46 (*Orbis*, Prague, 1938), 59.

<sup>44</sup> Ing. Rudolf Jung, *Der nationale Sozialismus: Seine Grundlagen, sein Werden*.

Galéra,<sup>45</sup> who copies freely from Hans Krebs's *Ein Kampf um Böhmen*, seem to be more exact. He mentions a certain Franko Stein who transferred in 1897 a small paper, *Der Hammer*, from Vienna to Eger-(Cheb). Stein belonged to a tiny organization, the "*Deutschnationaler Arbeiterbund*."<sup>46</sup> The language regulations of Prime Minister Count Badeni, which made Czech an additional official language in the German-speaking districts of Bohemia and Moravia, had resulted in a sudden rise of nationalistic feeling. The following year (1898), a "*Deutschvölkischer Arbeitertag*" was convoked in Eger-(Cheb); a program of 25 points was established in many respects similar to Schönerer's<sup>47</sup> "*Linzer Programm*" of 1882, which curiously enough had received support from R. Friedjung and Viktor Adler, both of the Jewish faith. At this meeting Burschofsky, leader of the "*Mährisch-Trübauver Verband*,"<sup>48</sup> a root-organization of small nationalistic workers' associations in Moravia, was elected chairman. For some time thereafter the *Mährisch-Trübauver Verband* played an active rôle, until it broke up into its constituent parts in 1903. A certain Hans Knirsch became "managing leader" (*Geschäftsführer*) of this organization in 1901 and he, together with Jung and Krebs, was one of the few original National-Socialists who remained active after January, 1933, in the daughter party, the NSDAP.

In April, 1902, we witness in Saaz (Žatec) a meeting of the "*Reichsorganisation der nationalen Arbeiterschaft*," and in December of the same year a mass-meeting in Reichenberg (Liberec).<sup>49</sup> At that time 26,000 members were already organized in the league, now renamed "*Deutschpolitischer Arbeiterverein für Österreich*." It severed all its connections with the pronouncedly bourgeois *Deutschnationale Partei*. It was on November 15th, 1903, that in Aussig (Usti-nad-Labem) a political party was formed, not a

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*gang und seine Ziele*, Zweite Ausgabe. (München, 1922), 78. (First edition [Aussig, 1919], unfortunately not available).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Dr. Karl Siegmars, Baron von Galéra, *Sudetendeutschlands Heimkehr ins Reich*, (Leipzig, 1939), 75-80. Neither Stein (judging by his first name), nor Galéra nor Burschofsky are of German origin. Galéra's title is of doubtful origin.

<sup>46</sup> Galéra, *op. cit.*, 75. Hans Krebs, *Kampf in Böhmen* (Berlin), 1936), 38.

<sup>47</sup> On Schönerer cf. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, and Edmund Wengraf, *St. Georg von Zwettl*.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Galéra, *op. cit.*, 76, H. Krebs, *op. cit.*, 38.

<sup>49</sup> Krebs, *op. cit.*, 39.



mere *Verein*, which was supported spiritually and materially by the ever growing nationalist workers' movement. It was called "*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei in Österreich*."<sup>50</sup> Less than a year later, at the first party congress in Trautenau (Trutnov), the "*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*" (DAP) received its permanent program, which later underwent many changes in detail but none in essence. It was then declared:

Wir sind eine freiheitliche, nationale Partei, welche mit aller Schärfe die reaktionären Bestrebungen, die feudalen, klerikalen und kapitalistischen Vorrechte sowie jeden fremdvölkischen Einfluss bekämpft.<sup>51</sup>

There were also other demands, such as the separation of Church and State, the stricter application of democratic principles in army promotions, and the nationalization of mines and railroads—the usual tenor of "progressive" continental parties. In the same year we hear of another move to change the name of the struggling party. It came from the Moravian Hans Knirsch, who proposed to call the party "*Deutschsoziale*" or "*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*." He was not successful. The reason is obvious; the move was blocked by the Bohemian groups that were afraid of being accused of copying the Czech National-Socialist Party. At that time the DAP had two newspapers, one in Mährisch-Trübau (Moravská Třebová) and one in Gablonz (Jablonec). The leader now was a certain Wilhelm Prediger, while Burschofsky and Knirsch remained on the steering committee.<sup>52</sup> In 1905 the DAP tried to oppose Viktor Adler, the former German Nationalist, now running for the Social Democratic Party in Reichenberg (Liberec), but they won only 14,000 votes, while Adler received 30,000. Yet in 1906 three deputies were sent by the DAP to the *Reichsrat*, thus advertising the ideology of the Party in Austria proper.

In 1909 a "*Reichskonferenz*" of the DAP was held in Prague, and the Moravian groups tried again to achieve a change in the

<sup>50</sup> Krebs, *op. cit.*, 39. Reichenberg "appeal," cf. 200.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. A. Ciller *Vorläufer des Nationalsozialismus* (Vienna, 1932), 135. Among other outstanding members mentioned are A. Cihula, Proch and Kroy, none of them with a Germanic background.

<sup>52</sup> Hans Krebs, *op. cit.*, 39 and 82. Cf. also Hans Knirsch, *Aus der Geschichte der deutschen nationalsozialistischen Arbeiterbewegung Altösterreichs und der Tschechoslowakei* (Aussig, 1931).

label; they wanted to take the wind out of the sails of the Social Democrats, but again they failed. We hear then of new men; the engineer Rudolf Jung, who had been transferred as a punitive measure from Vienna to Bohemia for agitation on behalf of the nationalistic organization of railroad employees,<sup>53</sup> Hans Krebs, and Walter Riehl, a lawyer,<sup>54</sup> join the party. These were "bourgeois" additions which were not lacking among the Marxian socialists either. Krebs was the editor-in-chief of the *Iglauer Volkswehr*. The Party then owned seven newspapers and seven trade union periodicals. At the elections of 1911 three deputies were again sent to Vienna, and in 1913 four representatives were elected to the Moravian Diet. The outbreak of the war brought a lull in party activities, the *Reichsrat* was suspended, and the only event of importance in 1916 was the campaign of the DAP-organ *Freie Stimmen* to adopt the name "National-Socialist." The reopening of the secretariat of the Party in late 1917 (in Aussig) brought a new period of feverish activity. The shadows of doom and despair were over Austria. The nationalist passions rose. The various ethnic groups were already arming themselves in order not to be found unprepared when the day of the division of the Dual Monarchy arrived. At a meeting in Aussig in April, 1918, the delegate Gattermayer again demanded the changing of the name, and he was defeated by a vote of 29 to 15.<sup>55</sup> But a month later at the Party Congress in Vienna—the first and last to be held in Austria proper before the proclamation of the Republic—the change was finally effected. The "*Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei*" (DNSAP) was born at a time when Hitler was still fighting as a Private First Class in France.<sup>56</sup> It was then declared:

Die Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei ist keine engherzige Arbeiterpartei, sie vertritt die Belange aller ehrlich schaffenden Arbeit

<sup>53</sup> Gustav Adolf von Metnitz, *Die deutsche Nationalbewegung 1871–1933* (Berlin, 1939), 130.

<sup>54</sup> Dr. Walter Riehl became later the leader of the National-Socialists of Rump-Austria, but broke temporarily with Hitler after the outrages of 1934. Cf. his *Unser Endziel! Eine Flugschrift für deutschen Nationalsozialismus* (Leipzig und Wien, 1918). Seems to have been written in mid-October. Another group in Austria, the Schulz-Splinter, separated from Hitler's control at an earlier date.

<sup>55</sup> Hans Krebs, *op. cit.*, 83.

<sup>56</sup> "Gefreiter" is Private First Class, not Corporal. The English translation "lance corporal" was misinterpreted by American writers. Hindenburg referred to Hitler as "der böhmische Gefreite." Cf. Konrad Heiden, *Geburt des 3. Reiches. Die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus bis Herbst 1933* (Zürich, 1934), 78.

überhaupt. Sie ist eine freiheitliche und streng völkische Partei und bekämpft daher alle rückschrittlichen Bestrebungen, kirchlichen, adeligen und kapitalistischen Vorrechte und jeden fremdvölkischen Einfluss, vor allem aber die überwuchernde Macht des jüdisch-händlerischen Geistes auf allen Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens. . . .

. . . sie fordert die Zusammenfassung des gesamten deutschen Siedlungsgebietes in Europa zum demokratischen, sozialen Deutschen Reiche . . .

. . . sie fordert die Einführung der Volksabstimmung (Referendum) für alle einschneidenden Gesetze in Reich, Staat und Land . . .

. . . sie fordert die Beseitigung der Herrschaft der jüdischen Banken über das Wirtschaftsleben, Schaffung nationaler Volksbanken mit demokratischer Verwaltung . . .<sup>57</sup>

There is no doubt that this program was the very synthesis of all the collectivistic, majoritarian, egalitarian, democratic and pseudo-liberal currents of the early twentieth century. The claim to liberalism (“*freiheitlich*”) was still upheld, but was finally dropped when Hitler took over and never revived again. Neither the *Führer*, nor Mussolini, nor Stalin ever claimed to be liberals, though they repeatedly upheld their title to democracy.

The Vienna program, moreover, was anti-clerical, anti-feudal, anti-monarchical, anti-Habsburg,<sup>58</sup> anti-Austrian. It demanded the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy no less strongly than Wilson, Clémenceau, Masaryk, Lloyd-George, or Beneš. It was Pan-German. It was sincerely “democratic” (in the Continental sense) in demanding direct democracy for the decision of all important issues. It was anti-Jewish, and since the Jews were in the process of becoming in Central Europe a new élite,<sup>59</sup> were an international group and dared to be “different”—the mortal sin in egalitarian or identitarian societies—the offensive against them was a symbolic summation of the attacks against capital, the international clergy and hierarchic nobility. The whole program was extremely “progressive” and “up to date”; there was, in the whole ideology, no “putting of the clock back” and no mediaevalism whatsoever. Here was the common heritage of Žižka,<sup>60</sup> Luther,

<sup>57</sup> A. Ciller, *op. cit.*, 141–142.

<sup>58</sup> Almost all Nazi writers accuse the Habsburgs of philosemitism.

<sup>59</sup> Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi has repeatedly called the Jews the new aristocracy of Europe.

<sup>60</sup> Other German nationalist, anti-clerical writers eulogizing Hus and Hussitism are: K. E. Ebert (*Vlasta and Brestislav*), Meissner (*Žižka*), Moritz Hartmann (*Kelch und Schwert*).

Jan van Leyden,<sup>61</sup> Rousseau, Marat, Robespierre and Gracchus Baboeuf, in its final consummation.

The breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy did not materially hinder the development of the D.N.S.A.P. in Czechoslovakia, where the Party protested violently against the establishment of a Czech State which included the Sudeten-Germans. Hans Knirsch published a flamboyant appeal which extolled the political unification of all Germans into one state, "der alte Sehnsuchtsraum der deutschen Demokratie von 1848."<sup>62</sup> Of Konrad Henlein<sup>63</sup> we hear nothing as yet. Schönerer, the old "bourgeois" nationalist, was then still alive; he had a home in Zwettl near the Bohemian border, from where he thundered occasionally against Jews, Czechs and Catholic priests. "Ohne Juda, ohne Rom, wird erbaut Germania's Dom."<sup>64</sup> was his slogan. He died in 1921, but Hans Krebs,<sup>65</sup> Hans Knirsch<sup>66</sup> and Rudolf Jung,<sup>67</sup> who was soon to flee to Germany, were extremely active. In the Czechoslovak elections of June, 1919, the DNSAP was able to poll 42,000 votes.<sup>68</sup> In Aussig the first National-Socialist monthly, *Volk und Gemeinde* was published, and the first party congress in the new republic took place in Dux (Duchov) on November 16th, 1919. Hans Knirsch attacked the new state violently but expressed satisfaction that the leaders of Czechoslovakia were such nationalists as Masaryk and Tusař who had always worked for the dissolution of the rotten Habsburg state.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>61</sup> A courageous German writer, Fritz Reck-Malleczewen, made Jan van Leyden (Hitler very thinly camouflaged) the "hero" of a biography, *Bockelsohn. Geschichte eines Massenwahnes* (Berlin, 1937).

<sup>62</sup> In Hans Krebs, *op. cit.* (pages not numbered) we find the reproduction. Another facsimile shows a further appeal adorned by swastikas.

<sup>63</sup> On Konrad Henlein, gymnastics teacher and ex-Catholic, cf. Elisabeth Wisemann, *Czechs and Germans* (Oxford, 1938), 200-201.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Walter Schneefuss, *Deutsch-Böhmisches Schicksal und Weg der Sudetendeutschen* (Leipzig, 1938), 53.

<sup>65</sup> On Hans Krebs, cf. Karl Vietz, "Ein Leben für die Freiheit," in H. C. Kaergel, *op. cit.*, 145.

<sup>66</sup> On Hans Knirsch, cf. Ottav Slovnik Naučný Nové Doby (Prague, 1934), Díl III, sv. 1, p. 589. Knirsch was born in 1877 and died in 1933.

<sup>67</sup> On Rudolf Jung, cf. *ibidem*, 285. Jung was active in 1939 in Germany. He may still be alive.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. A. Ciller, *op. cit.*, 119.

<sup>69</sup> This speech was published in pamphlet form.

Konrad Heiden, Hitler's outstanding biographer, traces the background of the NSDAP to the establishment of a "Freier Ausschuss für einen deutschen Arbeiterfrieden" in Bremen at the beginning of 1918. Anton Drexler organized on March 7, 1918, a branch of this league in Munich.<sup>70</sup> Drexler became member number one of this "cell," which changed its name in 1919 to "Deutsche Arbeiter Partei"—another DAP. A certain Adolf Hitler who, like Luther, was accused of being of Czech or part-Czech origin,<sup>71</sup> was the owner of the membership card number seven. Hitler was not very happy about the name of the Party and proposed to call it the "Social Revolutionary Party,"<sup>72</sup> but Jung, the refugee from Czechoslovakia, prevailed upon him to follow the pattern of the DNSAP and thus—with a very slight change in the name—the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) was born. The onomastic evolution of the Bohemo-Moravian mother party had been closely imitated. And Rudolf Jung provided the young party with an almost complete outline of a ready-made ideology... the volume published in Aussig in 1919. Hitler merely added a few confused ideas about foreign policy, and Streicher, a Franconian teacher and formerly active in the Democratic Party,<sup>73</sup> provided an even more virulent anti-Judaism.

Contacts between the DNSAP, its small Austrian splinter, and the NSDAP were quickly established, and from 1920 to 1922 "*Zwischenstaatliche Vertretertagungen*" were held to coordinate their efforts. At the first of these meetings, which took place in Salzburg on August 7th and 8th, 1920, the Vienna Program of May 15th, 1918, was *repeated almost verbatim*.<sup>74</sup> Deviations are to be found only in minor details. The demand for a union of all Germans in a "democratic, social German Reich" was retained, and

<sup>70</sup> Konrad Heiden, *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus: Die Karriere einer Idee* (Berlin, 1933), 19. The second DAP was so named on January 5th, 1919 (*op. cit.*, 12).

<sup>71</sup> The accusation was made that Hitler's mother spoke no German. Cf. R. Billing, *NSDAP. Geschichte einer Bewegung* (München, 1931), 19. Rudolf Olden, *Hitler* (Transl. W. Ettinghausen, New York, 1936), 14, denied it quite rightly.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Konrad Heiden, "Les débuts du national-socialisme," in *Revue d'Allemagne*, VII (1933), 821. This is also confirmed by Dr. Hans Fabricius, *Geschichte der Nationalsozialistischen Bewegung*, 2. Auflage (Berlin, 1937), 15.

<sup>73</sup> On Streicher's earlier career, cf. R. Billing, *op. cit.*, 112.

<sup>74</sup> On the Salzburg meeting, cf. Erich F. Berendt, *Soldaten der Freiheit* (Berlin, 1936), 181–210.

there was the same talk about an "equal and general right to vote." A moral renaissance was stressed, and instead of Gottfried Feder's "Positive Christianity" we find the demand for a "development of the religious life in a German spirit," a phrase perhaps even more ambiguous. New is the demand for a two-chamber system, with an upper chamber on a corporative basis.<sup>75</sup> It is worth mentioning that the collective name of the party appears to have been the "*Nationalsozialistische Partei des deutsche Volkes*," and the same label appears, temporarily at least, at the head of the table in Rudolf Jung's opus (1922 edition)—a table containing a list of all national-socialist publications in that year.<sup>76</sup> The "*Sudetenländische Gruppe*" is mentioned first with eleven periodicals and newspapers, then the Austrian organizations with two periodicals (in Vienna and Salzburg), and finally the German group with only one paper, the *Völkische Beobachter*, adding the name and address of the editor, Adolf Hitler, München, Corneliusstrasse 12. The Polish group (headed by Herr Kotschi in Bielitz) had no support from the printing press.

The interstate meetings were continued until 1922. In the middle of 1923 the German group must have increased considerably in size. The Czechoslovakian and Austrian parties<sup>77</sup> were trailing. Hitler then made his bid for power in November, 1923, and failed, but when he was released from the fortress of Landsberg in 1924 the Bohemo-Moravian mother-party formally accepted his leadership.<sup>78</sup> The DNSAP of Czechoslovakia thus became nothing but a tail to Hitler's kite. The SDP (*Sudetendeutsche Partei*) founded by Konrad Henlein after the outlawing of the DNSAP by the Czechoslovak Government was nothing but a badly camouflaged revival of Dr. Beneš Germanic counterparty.

Hitler's attempt, in cooperation with General Ludendorff,<sup>79</sup> to

<sup>75</sup> Rudolf Jung, *op. cit.*, 81–83.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>77</sup> On earlier Nazism in Austria proper, cf. Hans Bleyer-Härtl, *Ringens um Reich und Recht: Zwei Jahrzehnte politischer Anwalt in Österreich* (Berlin, 1939). This author mentions on p. 47 a "Deutschnationalsozialistischer Verein für Österreich" in 1919 (pre-Hitlerian) and the establishment of an Austrian SA by Benedikt, Müller, Reschny and Nehéz in 1920.

<sup>78</sup> A. Ciller, *op. cit.*, 113.

<sup>79</sup> Ludendorff was not a Junker, rejected the title offered to him by William II. His father was a postal employee in Poznan. He figures erroneously as "von" Ludendorff in many English and American books. On the Prussian Junkers' rejection



unseat the German Government in November, 1923, through an open rebellion in Munich, was foiled through the efforts of the local Reichswehr under the command of von Lossow and the refusal of von Kahr, Bavarian Prime-Minister, to accommodate the Führer.<sup>80</sup> Hitler's hatred for the Junkers, the Reichswehr and all clerical politicians after that time was boundless.<sup>81</sup> The Church, ably led by Kardinal von Faulhaber, also opposed him on principle.

The plan to conquer Germany from the Catholic domains had proved a failure. After a prolonged and partly enforced lull, the conquest of Germany began by legal means, i.e., within the framework of the democratic process. The first states which fell prey to Hitler were Saxony and Thuringia. In the fall of 1930 the National-Socialists won 107 seats, gaining triumph after triumph in the North-East; in East-Prussia (with the exception of Catholic Varmia), in Pomerania, Mecklenburg and Schleswig-Holstein. Nothing is here more revealing than the study of the election results for the whole period between 1928 and March, 1933. The increase and decrease of the individual parties tells a striking story, as does also a comparison of the religious and political map of Germany.

If we divide the parties into three groups, i.e., National-Socialist, the "Rigid Ideologists"—Nationalists, Conservatives, Catholics, Socialists and Communists—and the "Demoliberals"—Democratic, Liberal, Protestant and non-partisan peasant or middle-class parties—we get for four of the elections of that period the following picture:

| Mandates                   | National-Soc. | Rigid | Demoliberal. |
|----------------------------|---------------|-------|--------------|
| May 20th, 1928 .....       | 12            | 363   | 116          |
| September 14th, 1930 ..... | 107           | 351   | 119          |
| November 6th, 1932 .....   | 196           | 364   | 24           |
| March 5th, 1933 .....      | 288           | 346   | 13           |

What had happened? Not only did the National-Socialists succeed in mobilizing the inert non-voters, the "private citizens" (*idiotes*),

tion of Pangermanism and their resistance to the unification of Germany, cf. Prince Hubertus zu Löwenstein, *The Germans in History* (New York, 1945), 287. Bismarck was always considered by them to be a traitor to their class.

<sup>80</sup> Von Kahr and von Lossow were murdered in the *Reichsmordwoche* (June 30th, 1934). Von Kahr in spite of his clerical affiliations was a Lutheran.

<sup>81</sup> Hitler's personal paladins in the army were finally all non-Junkers such as Jodl, Guderian and "die Keitel."

who ordinarily show no interest in political matters. With strict proportional representation (60,000 votes for one seat in the *Reichstag*) the total number of deputies rose from 481 to 647. They also gobbled up the 'demoliberals.' The German Democratic Party (later called *Staatspartei*) which had over 80 mandates in 1919, and in 1928 still retained 25 deputies in the *Reichstag*, decreased finally to 5. The *Wirtschaftspartei des Mittelstandes*, which boasted 23 deputies in 1928, had none in 1933. Yet the royalist Bavarian People's Party maintained and slightly increased its number of supporters, whereas the Catholic Center rose slowly from 61 to 73 seats. The Socialists had small losses, the Communists increased considerably, the Nationalist-Conservatives fluctuated, but maintained their hold. On the other hand, the *Deutsche Volkspartei*, the heirs of Bismarck's National-Liberals, declined gradually from 45 to 2 members. *It was German liberalism and German bourgeois democracy which had turned National-Socialist.* This testifies to the fact that German liberalism was strongly sectarian, opposed to orthodox Protestantism and Catholicism alike. The attacks of some of the Nazi leaders upon Christianity could have been written by any French Radical-Socialist or contributor to the *Byezbozhnik* or *Antireligioznik*.<sup>82</sup> These attacks were often "scientific" rather than racist-emotionalist. (*Vide* Hitler's "Der Nationalsozialismus ist keine kultische Religion sondern eine auf exakter Wissenschaft aufgebaute Volksbewegung.")<sup>83</sup>

The comparison of the religious map and the election chart gives us an added angle.<sup>84</sup> The districts where the National-Socialists scored 40% or more of the votes and the areas where Catholics number more than 50% never overlap, although there is a certain amount of no-man's land in between them. Especially interesting is the situation in East-Prussia, whose province of Varmia (*Ermeland*) occupies the Western center of that province. The vast majority of the Varmians are German Catholics and, as ex-

<sup>82</sup> Cf. speech of Martin Bormann, deputy-*Führer*, reprinted in the *London Tablet* (January 27, 1942).

<sup>83</sup> As jotted down by the writer. The officially published text (as so often) shows minor deviations.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Vol. 401 of *Statistik des Deutschen Reiches*, Reichsamt für Statistik, Verlag für Sozialpolitik, Wirtschaft und Statistik (Berlin, 1933), containing a map of religious distribution, and vol. 434, containing statistics for the three last elections (July 31 and November 6, 1932, and March 5, 1933). Our maps have been based on these data.

pected, they voted overwhelmingly anti-Nazi. The Southern region of East-Prussia is Polish-speaking (Masurian), but Lutheran, with the exception of the Varmian Allenstein-district which is Polish *and* Catholic. The *Lutheran* Poles, just like the Lutheran Germans, voted overwhelmingly National-Socialistic. We see here clearly that the crux of the *malaise* was ideological rather than ethnic.

The regions with the smallest percentages of National-Socialists in the elections of 1932 were the districts of Aachen-Trier and Munich, the "birthplace of the Movement."<sup>85</sup> Here, in "blackest Germany," the National-Socialists attacked the Pope as a "foreign potentate,"<sup>86</sup> and resistance came primarily from the archiepiscopal palaces.

There was always a considerable number of Lutheran clergymen who supported Hitler, while another group, though actively disliking him, was too deeply impressed with Luther's exhortation for obedience to those actually in power. When a few liberal clergymen attacked the Papen and Schleicher régimes as oppressive and dictatorial (they ruled *without* parliamentary support) they were strongly criticized by the authoritarian Friedrich Gogarten.<sup>87</sup> For this leading Lutheran theologian the State derived its power from the "ineradicable and thorough wickedness of man."<sup>88</sup>

Yet one of the deeper reasons why Catholics took less to National-Socialism than Protestants lies also in the (usually overlooked) fact that Catholicism, although from a hierarchical (organizational) point of view much more authoritarian than Protestantism, is in its final implications strongly personalistic and anti-collectivistic.<sup>89</sup> Judging from his Roman impressions, even Nathaniel Hawthorne must have guessed this fact. Only Catholic and Greek-Orthodox countries have developed anarchistic movements. It would be difficult to imagine a Prussian, Danish, English or Swedish anarchist. Professor Theodor Abel in his panel of 600 leading

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Pierre J. Huss, *Heil! and Farewell* (London, 1943), 168-169.

<sup>86</sup> *Op. cit.*, 172-173.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Friedrich Gogarten, *Wider die Achtung der Autorität* (Jena, 1931).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Friedrich Gogarten, quoted by Martin Buber, *Die Frage an den Einzelnen* (Berlin, 1936), 83-85.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Otto Karrer, *Von der Freiheit des Christenmenschen in der katholischen Kirche* (Einsiedeln-Köln, 1941), 75-76.

National-Socialists was unable to get data for 62%. There were 10% Catholics and 28% Protestants.<sup>90</sup>

It must furthermore always be kept in mind that the National-Socialists never denied their democratic and socialist heritage. Occasionally support was given to the Nazis by noblemen, bankers, manufacturers and individual scientists. Yet National-Socialism was always essentially a *Bäckermeisterbewegung*. The renegades from the upper classes who supported this mass-movement of workers and petty-bourgeois acted perhaps in a few cases in good faith, hoping against hope to tame the beast. If opposition becomes hopeless, collaboration is often the best form of "attack." When Hitler was taken into the Government (January, 1933) the ruling clique not only bowed to the democratic principle of parliamentary support but also hoped to destroy Nazism by saddling it with responsibilities and confronting it with "insuperable difficulties."<sup>91</sup> Papen and his supporters had become afraid of their own isolated and unconstitutional position. They had changed their mind, but so had Hitler, who in October, 1932, had haughtily rejected Papen's first offer to collaborate. In an open letter he described Papen's motives ironically and correctly, putting the following words in his mouth:

In dieser Not konnte nur eines helfen. Wir wollten sie [die Nazis] nun—überzeugt, dass sie nichts Böses ahnend, freudig gerührt und beglückt einschlagen würden—in unser Kabinett, das nicht nur die Unterstützung aller Juden, sondern auch vieler Aristokraten, Deutschnationaler und Stahlhelmer besitzt, einladen und aufnehmen. Wir wollten dann ihnen schon langsam die Giftzähne ausbrechen. Waren sie einmal von unserer Partie, dann konnten sie nicht mehr zurück. Mitgefangen! Mitgehangen!

This letter was terminated by Hitler's proud insistence on the loyalty of his supporters, the millions of toiling men "wenn sie

<sup>90</sup> *Why Hitler came into Power* (New York, 1938), 313. Rohan d'O. Butler, who wrote a book, *The Roots of National-Socialism* (New York, 1942) provides it with an admittedly rudimentary bibliography of "forerunners" (300 ff.), enumerating 64 of them. Of these only 6 are Catholics, including 2 Frenchmen. Yet fully one-third of the population of the Reich and 42% of these ethnically German are Catholics.

<sup>91</sup> Great care was taken that each post given to a National-Socialist should be carefully balanced with another position given to a non-Nazi. Konrad Heiden's description and commentary in his *Geburt des 3. Reiches. Die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus bis Herbst 1933* (Zürich, 1934), 108–112, is perfectly correct.

auch zumeist schlichter Herkunft und vielfach grösster Armut sind.”<sup>92</sup>

Yet the trick of collaboration did not work. The silly cavalry officer had underestimated the shrewd paperhanger. The clique around the President had underestimated the crushing power of mass-movements functioning in complete harmony with the *Zeitgeist*. “Insuperable difficulties” there were none, because the Western Powers made concessions to Hitler which they never made to Brüning, or any of his immediate successors.<sup>93</sup>

Other “collaborationists” thought cynically with Baron Steiger: “La garde se rend mais elle ne meurt pas.” Others again were convinced that they had to act as *clerics*, in the sense of Julien Benda, as servants of the General Will, of the Masses, of the prevailing trends. It is, needless to say, the duty of *true* élites to oppose the masses if they err and to prefer death to compromise. *Prius mori quam superari*. The whole dangerous decay was seen by a few with utter clarity, and they had acted before 1944 accordingly. Dr. Edgar Jung, murdered in 1934, was one of those who analyzed the deadly “democratic” aspect of National-Socialism correctly. Men like Jung had rejected National-Socialism because they had always repudiated all collectivistic movements.<sup>94</sup> The percentage of noblemen in the conspiracy of July, 1944, shows that the old virtues were not entirely dead; among the 119 persons condemned to death by the People’s Court, 41 had titles, over 60 were army and navy men, 4 were priests and ministers, about 20 were high civil servants.<sup>95</sup> They had followed the principle which Christopher Dawson considers to be one of the salient messages of the Scriptures: “Thou shalt not follow the multitudes to do evil.”<sup>96</sup>

The National-Socialists in general and Hitler in particular were

<sup>92</sup> Hitler’s “Offener Brief an Herrn von Papen” (dated Coburg, Oct. 16, 1932, printed in Berlin) was published in pamphlet form.

<sup>93</sup> This is well brought out in Max Jordan’s *Beyond all Fronts* (Milwaukee, 1944).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Dr. Edgar Jung, *Die Sinndeutung der deutschen Revolution*, (Oldenburg i. O., 1933).

<sup>95</sup> A list of the victims was published in 1945 by *Die Neue Zeit* in Berlin, in an article by Emil Dovifat. It was reprinted by *Commonweal*, 43 (New York, November 16, 1945), 112–115; name of author misprinted as “Dorfat.” Soon after July 20th Dr. Ley made a speech against the “blue-blooded swine,” and the Gauleiter of Carinthia compared the aristocracy to “international Jewry” (Bürckel).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the London *Tablet*, 186 (August 18, 1945), 74.

not only supreme immoralists but also, as we emphasized repeatedly, on account of their populist tendencies resolutely "democratic." This "democratic" essence of Nazism is the very key to their understanding. The American reader cannot be warned often enough to distinguish carefully between the content of the "democratic" label here and on the European Continent. Moreover, the fundamental difference between continental democracy and the ideals of liberalism, already pointed out by Montesquieu, has been emphasized by a variety of Europeans such as Gonzague de Reynold (*L'Europe Tragique*), Ortega y Gasset (*España Invertebrada*), Christopher Dawson (*Beyond Politics*), Wilhelm Röpke (*International Economic Disintegration*), Bernard Wall (*European Notebook*), Louis Rougier (*La mystique démocratique*), and also by the American W. H. Chamberlain (*The World's Iron Age*).

Thus democracy, understood in its original European and Continental context, implies by necessity no liberalism and includes potentially,<sup>97</sup> and according to some authors even necessarily (Burckhardt),<sup>98</sup> the trend towards totalitarianism. Unanimity is the easiest way to totalitarianism, and at the same time—though poison to liberalism—it is the "optimum" of the democratic process.

Hitler repeatedly called National-Socialism "democratic" and styled himself an "arch-democrat." So did Goebbels and Rudolf Hess. These are only a few occasions:

*Hitler*: Attack on Eton and Harrow, Dec. 10, 1940 (*Völkischer Beobachter*, Dec. 11, 1940). Calls himself an arch-democrat, Munich, November 8, 1938 (*V.B.*, Nov. 10th, 1938). Calls National-Socialism the "truest democracy," Berlin, January 30, 1937 (*V.B.*, Jan. 31, 1937). Calls the National-Socialist Constitution democratic, Berlin, May 21, 1935 (*V.B.*, May 22, 1935). Cf. also *Mein Kampf* (München), 99: "Die wahrhaftige germanische Demokratie der freien Wahl des Führers mit dessen Verpflichtung zur vollen Übernahme der Verantwortung für sein Tun und Lassen."

*Goebbels*: Calls National-Socialism an "authoritarian democracy," May 31, 1933 (Speech before the Press). Calls National-Socialism a "Germanic

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Karl Otten, *A Combine of Aggression. Masses, Élite and Dictatorship*, translated by Eden Paul and F. M. Field (London, 1942), 7 and 292–293. Cf. also 299 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Jacob Burckhardt, *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, edited by J. Oeri (Berlin und Stuttgart, 1910), 188 and 200–201.



Democracy" (Speech before the Press, Frankfurt, June 21, 1933).<sup>99</sup> Calls National-Socialism on March 19, 1934, "the noblest form of European democracy."

R. Hess: Calls National-Socialism the "most modern democracy of the world" based on the "confidence of the majority."<sup>100</sup>

The "democratic" character of National-Socialism has also been clearly recognized by such observers as Père J. V. Ducatillon, O.P., Père J. T. Délos, Denis de Rougemont and Siegmund Neumann.<sup>101</sup> It is also obvious that there is a deep, intrinsic connection between nationalism and populism, nationalism and democracy. Ethnic nationalism in Europe started distinctly as an anti-aristocratic and anti-monarchical movement, frequently characterized by a strong anti-Catholicism. The ambiguity of the word *Volk* (with its Slavic parallel: *narod*<sup>102</sup>) is not merely coincidental. The term *deutsch* (*diutisk*) had also the double meaning of "German" and "popular."<sup>103</sup>

Neither is the assertion of the "socialistic" character of the Party and the régime an imposture. It is self-evident that in a totalitarian state, where the government possesses an absolute power, private property loses all its reality. A manufacturer whose factory can be confiscated at a second's notice without compensation, who has to produce what he is told at a prescribed price, who has to invest his money in a definite manner, who has to make specific donations at certain intervals and also has to deal with governmental trade-unions, is an "owner" or "master" not even on suffrage. Reventlow ridiculed the idea that private property is sacred.<sup>104</sup> If we look at the social background of the party mem-

<sup>99</sup> Cf. C. Haensel and R. Strahl, *Politisches ABC des neuen Reichs* [sic] (Stuttgart, 1933), 22-23.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Gottfried Neesse, *Die Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei. Versuch einer Rechtsdeutung* (Stuttgart, 1935), 187. This author's own definition of Nazi democracy, 145.

<sup>101</sup> Rev. Père J. V. Ducatillon, O.P., *La guerre, cette révolution* (New York, 1941), 32-33. J. T. Délos in *La Vie Intellectuelle* (Oct. 10, 1938). Denis de Rougemont, *La Part du Diable*, Nouvelle Version (New York, 1944), 105. Siegmund Neumann, *Permanent Revolution* (New York, 1942), 3-4. Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics* (New York, 1941), especially 40, 54-55, 56, 212-213, 226, 243, 307, 311.

<sup>102</sup> The Slavic "*narod*" is etymologically stronger in its racial implication than the Romance-Germanic *populus-Volk*; "*rod*" means sex.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Richard Müller-Freienfels, *Psychologie des deutschen Menschen und seiner Kultur* (München, 1930), 50.

<sup>104</sup> Graf Reventlow, in *Reichswarte* (Dec. 13, 1930): "Eine Heiligkeit des Privateigentums gibt es für uns nicht."

bers and their leaders we find the upper classes in a distinct minority. Professor Abel found among a large group of Nazi leaders only 7% belonging to the upper crust, 7% peasants, 35% were workers and 51% belonged to the lower middle class. The number of school teachers were especially high in the party hierarchy.<sup>105</sup>

The Jacobin and revolutionary element was never dead in National socialism. At the beginning a certain confusion could be seen on the "proletarian" issue, and in the Rehse Collection of early National-Socialist documents we see not only violently anti-capitalist handbills but also the original program of the (German) DAP which shows the following curious passage:

Die Deutsche Arbeiterpartei will die Adelung des deutschen Arbeiters. Die gelernten und ansässigen Arbeiter haben ein Recht zu dem Mittelstand gerechnet zu werden. Zwischen Arbeiter und Proletarier soll in scharfer Trennungsstrich gezogen werden.<sup>106</sup>

This attitude disappeared at a later stage. Graf Reventlow insisted on a mere juxtaposition between "*Nationalsozialismus*" and "*Internationalsozialismus*."<sup>107</sup> Later he tried to establish a common front between National-Socialism and Communism based on German-Russian collaboration and the "common destruction of the Polish State." The Communist organ *Rote Fahne* published and commented upon two of his open letters.<sup>108</sup> The Communist reception of his proposals was friendly, but the subsequent electoral defeats of the National-Socialists deprived them of their bargaining power.

But Dr. Goebbels declared in 1932:

Woher wollen wir die sittliche Berechtigung nehmen, gegen den proletarischen Klassenkampfgedanken anzurennen, wenn nicht zuerst der *bürgerliche Klassenstaat grundsätzlich zertrümmert* und abgelöst wird durch eine neue sozialistische Gliederung der deutschen Gemeinschaft?<sup>109</sup> (Italics ours).

and another National-Socialist meditates sadly:<sup>110</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Franz Neumann, *Behemoth* (New York, 1942), 377, 379, 399.

<sup>106</sup> *Die Sammlung Rehse, Dokumente der Zeitgeschichte*; ed. Dr. A. Dresler and Fritz Maier-Hartmann (München, 1938), 85 and 90-91.

<sup>107</sup> Graf E. Reventlow, *Nationaler Sozialismus im neuen Deutschland* (Berlin, no date), 59.

<sup>108</sup> Graf E. Reventlow, *Völkisch-kommunistische Einigung?* (Leipzig, 1925), 17-38.

<sup>109</sup> Dr. Josef Goebbels, *Der Nazi-Sozi, Fragen und Antworten für den Nationalsozialisten* (München, 1932, 4. Auflage), 10.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. (Ernst Kiefer), *Der unbekannte SA Mann* (München, 1934), 31.

Dass wir den Krieg verloren haben, das ist nicht das Schlimmste. Aber dass wir uns um die Revolution prellen liessen, das ist beinahe unmöglich.

After 1939 the National-Socialists received not only open support from the Communists (until 1941), but also, in France, Belgium, and Denmark, from various Leftist elements. Ex-socialists and ex-communists like Laval, Doriot and Déat become collaborators. The left *Oeuvre* became pro-Nazi and only 40 of the original Socialist deputies were able to run again for Parliament in 1945. The Danish Social-Democrats under Stauning collaborated until 1943. The Finnish Social-Democrats under Väinö Tanner were in the same boat. Some Belgian Socialists, led by Hendrik de Man, were by and large also collaborationists. But why blame them when such an outstanding "Liberal" as Lloyd George declared solemnly that Hitler was wonderful, the German people the happiest under the sun, and the fate of Poland rightly deserved.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, it is unjust to overlook the social welfare activities of the National-Socialists, who probably did more for the "Common Man" than any other régime. The philosophical dangers of "*Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigenmütz*" are a different matter. The man in the street could hardly guess that it led straight to Frank's "*Recht ist was dem deutschen Volke nutzt*," and what the final implications of such a dictum might be.

The attack upon the upper classes, the *Bürger* and the nobleman,<sup>112</sup> as well as the violent anti-Judaism, were intrinsically connected with the socialistic attitude and the acceptance of the "Common Man" as the very pillar of the régime. Goebbels declared frankly, with complete omission of all racialist arguments: "Der Nationalsozialist ist ein Antisemit weil er ein Sozialist its."<sup>113</sup> The inherently anti-Jewish attitude of Socialism in general was outlined by Antonio Machado:<sup>114</sup>

El marxismo, señores, es una interpretación judáica de la historia. El marxismo, sin embargo, ahorcará a los banqueros y perseguirá a los judíos. Para despistar?

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Associated Press, Sept. 22, 1936, and *New York Times*, Sept. 28, 1939.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Felix von Papen, *Ein von Papen spricht* (Nijmegen, 1938). The author describes his sufferings in a concentration camp and the curious cooperation between Communists and National-Socialists.

<sup>113</sup> Goebbels, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>114</sup> Antonio Machado, *Obras Completas* (Mexico, D.F., 1940), 702. This author was a Spanish exile (died in 1939).

Marx himself could be violently anti-Jewish, not only in his essays,<sup>115</sup> but also in his private letters,<sup>116</sup> where his anti-Judaism took, curiously enough, a decidedly racist turn. Some of his remarks about Lasalle seem almost to have been copied from Streicher's *Der Stürmer*.<sup>117</sup> Yet Lasalle also gave vent to anti-Jewish feelings.<sup>118</sup> Even Engels was not free from this vice.<sup>119</sup> And it would be also a great mistake to believe that the position of the Jews in the USSR is a very happy one.<sup>120</sup>

*Supplement.* Nor should the anti-parliamentary character of Nazism be overrated. Because certain essential qualities were lacking in the political scene of pre-Nazi Germany, such as Laski's rightly cherished common framework of reference and two-party system, no constructive work could be expected from a parliament built on sand. Yet it must be borne in mind that the National-Socialists never abolished the Reichstag. They merely "packed" it. A highly intelligent National-Socialist once pointed out to me that the totalitarian structure of the National-Socialist State would in a few generations produce a purely Nazi nation with no other competing ideologies present. Then the parliamentary system could be revived again, because all existing parties would represent only various shades of the National-Socialist ideology. Our Nazi informant called this process: "The Americanization of our political scene." He pointed out, moreover, that concentration camps in Switzerland or in America were superfluous, because in these countries the population believed "100 percent in democratic republicanism," because of a "careful and thorough indoctrination by school and press." The Nazis were working for the same basic goal, he added, and since they were speeding up the work of basic political uniformity they had to be "a bit tough."

All in all it might be said that the spirit of National-Socialism

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Karl Marx, *Selected Essays*, translated H. J. Stenning (New York, 1926), 88–97. Also cf. S. M. Dubnov, *Noveishaya Istoria Evreiskago Naroda*, II (Berlin, 1923), 100–103.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke, Schriften, Briefe*. 3. Abteilung, Briefwechsel. Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Marx-Engels Institut. Moskau. Herausgegeben D. Rjazanow (Berlin, 1930), II, 365, 366, 371; III, 82, 90, 91.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Letter from Marx to Engels, July 30, 1862, *ibidem*, III, 84.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Simon Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, Übersetzt aus dem Russischen von Dr. A. Steinberg (Berlin, 1929), IX, 361–362.

<sup>119</sup> Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *op. cit.* Letter of Engels, November 2, 1864 (III, 192).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. *Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1943), IX, 676–677.

must be treated in a factual way and must be analyzed in its living reality. Unfortunately we cannot reproduce in this place the melodies of Nazis songs, which are often very telling, and characteristic of the mentality of the movement. The Horst Wessel Lied, for instance, has a distinctly sombre, menacing and even melancholic tune, thus almost implicitly announcing the “*Nacht der Langen Messer*.” Its text laments those killed by the *Rotfront* and “Reaction” alike, the victims of the “competitors” and the “enemies.” In other chants the Leftist note comes out even more clearly. As for instance:

Wir sind das Heer vom Hakenkreuz  
 Hebt hoch die roten Fahnen  
 Der deutschen Arbeit wollen wir  
 Den Weg zur Freiheit bahnen.

or

Wir Nationalen Sozialisten  
 Wir wollen keine Reaktion  
 Wir hassen Juden und Marxisten,  
 Ein Hoch der deutschen Revolution

(Refrain)

Drum Brüder, auf die Barrikaden!  
 Der Führer ruft, so folget gleich.  
 Die Reaktion hat in verraten,  
 Und dennoch kommt das Dritte Reich!<sup>121</sup>

(Refrain)

#### IV

National-Socialism, as we have seen, is neither a conservative nor a reactionary movement, but merely the synthesis, and a very unpleasant one indeed, of practically all the ideas dominant in the last 160 years. It is obvious that the roots of these ideas antedate the French Revolution.

National-Socialism had naturally also a *couleur locale*, but how much of it is based on historical reminiscences going back for centuries is difficult to decide. We are inclined to think that remote historical events, apart from shaping (to a certain extent) a national character, do not mysteriously slumber in a sort of “racial

<sup>121</sup> From G. Feder, *Das Programm der NSDAP*. Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, Heft 1 (München, 1936), last page, and: *Unter Hitler's Fahnen*, Gross-deutsches Liederbuch zusammengestellt von Erhart (Verlag Grossdeutschland, 1932), 4.

subconsciousness" but are revived in "re-representations" provoked by entirely new political happenings. That these re-representations are sometimes not only slightly inaccurate but often downright historical falsehoods is too well known to need further emphasis. It is possible that the East-German, Czech<sup>122</sup> and North-Austrian (non-Alpine) character has certain affinities and certain traits which made it receptive to specific manifestations of the phenomenon whose genesis we have tried to trace in part, traits hitherto neglected by most authors. On the other hand we have to bear in mind that the movement was a failure in the Bohemo-Austro-Bavarian domain, and that its important victories were reaped in Northern Germany. We would therefore act more wisely in debating the girations of an ideology if we looked first and foremost to competing and opposing philosophies rather than to the still fairly unexplored world of ethnical psychology (*Volkspsychologie*). We certainly do not believe that National-Socialism as a basic movement is any more "German" than "Czech" or "Austrian" or "Germanized Slav" or "Prussian."<sup>123</sup> Characteristics which are usually termed "Nazi" can be found in most nations, especially in "progressive" and "democratic" nations.

In tracing the origins of the Nazi *Party* we have first outlined the influence of the Hussite *picture* on the Czech National-Socialists. Since the conscious living-up to this picture has always been freely acknowledged by Czech Socialists and National-Socialists, it is not necessary to investigate this connection. Another matter is the copying of the Czech example by the German-speaking proto-Nazis of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. It is evident that neither do the Czech National-Socialists want to boast of their Teutonic epigones, nor do the men of the DAP and DNSAP in their ethnic and racial pride want to acknowledge their Slavic forerunners. The whole struggle *against* the acceptance of the term "National-Socialist" (1904–1918) shows this very clearly. Yet the ideological connection is undeniable.<sup>123a</sup> The expression "*Workers*

<sup>122</sup> We would like to mention that the author of this paper is partly of Czech (Taborite) ancestry and that he shares no "Austrian animosity" against the Czechs (or any other nation).

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Carl Dyrssen, *Die Botschaft des Ostens* (Breslau, 1932), 186: "Der Nationalsozialismus ist die Urform des Preussentums." Dyrssen belonged to the strongly pro-Russian, national-bolshevik wing of the Party.

<sup>123a</sup> The German of Bohemia and Moravia had only to read the local papers during breakfast to get acquainted with Czech National-Socialism or to listen to the debates in the local diet.



*Party*” actually “jumped a generation” and was adopted from the “grandfather,” the Czech Socialist *Workers Party*, a member of the 2d International. The symbiosis between Germans and Czechs was also very close (no German lived more than 40 miles from the Czech ethnographic area), and we know that numerous Germans and Czechs crossed over incessantly to the other ethnic community. The number of “Germans” with Czech names in the DAP and DNSAP was always very great, a situation which among the Austrian Nazis had reached grotesque proportions.<sup>124</sup> There are various psychological reasons for it. It is also interesting that not only Czech but also German encyclopaedias used the common heading for *all* National-Socialist parties.<sup>125</sup>

When we come to the influence of the DNSAP on the NSDAP we see it confirmed by three authors published in English<sup>126</sup> Authors writing inside the Reich after 1933 had to be careful lest they steal the thunder from the *Führer*. There was always the danger of *lèse majesté*. Some Nazi authors tried to minimize the influence,<sup>127</sup> others, especially Sudeten-Germans, gave cautiously factual accounts without analyzing them. Only Pfitzner claimed a full fatherhood. Yet we have only to read the various programs from the meetings in Trautenau up to the Inter-State Congress of Salzburg in 1920 (where Adolf Hitler participated), in order to see the unbroken chain. Rudolf Jung’s influence must have been very considerable as coordinator. He had a ready made ideology by 1919 when Hitler was still a police-informer in Munich.

<sup>124</sup> In Metnitz’ and Bleyer-Härtl’s *opera citata* we find the following names of Austrian Nazis: Michalek, Woitsche, Cséri, Kozich, Werkowitsch, Jakubitschek, Jerabek, Mattausch, Jagschitsch, Galle, Bloesch, Papez, Hudl (Hudal?), Berdinik, Wanek, Domes, Formanek, Seyss (Zajie), Foppa, Blaschke, Foglar, Kral, Slupetzky, Wessely, Jury, Tomschitz, Wurnig, Derda, Suchenwirth (Suchanek), Bolek, Reschny. Dollfuss’ assassin Planetta came from Vischau in Moravia, his accomplice Feike from Prerau (Prerov). Bleyer-Härtl, *op. cit.*, 199 and 201.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Brockhaus, Vol. 13 (1932).

<sup>126</sup> Gustav Stolper, *op. cit.*, 315; E. Wiskemann, *op. cit.*, 197; Konrad Heiden, *A History of National-Socialism* (London, 1934), 22–25. Other sources: Erich Kühne, *Sudetendeutscher Schicksalskampf* (Leipzig), 45–46; Dr. J. Pfitzner, *Sudetendeutsche Einheitsbewegung. Werden und Erfüllung* (Karlsbad, 1937), 28–29; *Böhmerlandjahrbuch für Volk und Heimat* (Eger, 1921), 57; *Volk und Gemeinde*, Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte (Aussig, 1931).

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Johann von Lers, *Der Deutsche Aufstand. Die Revolution des Nachkriegs* (Stuttgart, 1934), 310. He writes about Bohemian National-Socialism: “Sie hat die Parteigründung Adolf-Hitler’s praktisch wenig beeinflusst.”

Of course, there are also other prehistories of Nazism: a narrower one which deals with the *genus loci* of Germany and a broader one which includes world-wide influences. Some of the material unearthed in these researches is valid, some invalid. The Teutonic Knights or Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, Spengler, Nietzsche, Major General Haushofer and Stefan George<sup>128</sup> have been very needlessly invoked as forerunners. The powerful religious angle and other cultural aspects have been ruefully neglected. Unfortunately National-Socialism is by no means a phenomenon of the past; as long as collectivism, totalitarianism, the Continental tradition of democracy, racialism, ethnic nationalism, the subordination of ends to means; egalitarianism, socialism and utilitarianism remain the characteristic traits of our civilization and epoch, the danger of a new, deadly synthesis will by no means be eliminated. A minor incident such as the defeat or even the destruction of the German Reich will hardly stem this powerful tide.

New York City.

<sup>128</sup> Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, who is the modern coiner of the term "Drittes Reich," committed suicide in 1924. He was violently attacked by Alfred Rosenberg in an article entitled "Gegen Tarnung und Fälschung" (*Völkischer Beobachter*, December 8, 1933). Spengler, who died in 1936, was prevented from publishing the second volume of his *Jahre der Entscheidungen* and bitterly assailed by the party press. Nietzsche was furiously criticized for his pro-Jewish and anti-German utterances. Haushofer's son Albrecht was executed in July, 1944. His "Moabiters Sonnette," written in captivity, represent perhaps the best and most touching poetry that was produced. Stefan George died in Switzerland and willed that his body should not be brought back to Germany as long as the Nazis ruled. The confusion about the Teutonic Knights comes from the fact that the National-Socialists established training schools called "Ordensburgen."